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KULTURGESCHICHTLICHES IN THE FASTNACHTSPIELE OF HANS SACHS

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

APR 28 1926

BY
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Part II.

Nürnberger Types as Revealed by Sachs

In the Fastnachtspiele of Sachs we find represented all the classes of society, from the noble to the vagabond, that may be considered representative of the Nürnberg of the early sixteenth century. While their customs, thoughts, and ideals are revealed in detail, we are given more than a mere photographic sketch of the times; the author is never forgetful of truth, and those traits are emphasized that have ever been characteristic of the types described. The point of view of Sachs is, therefore, not a simple one. He assumes the part of the casual bystander who is making articulate the observations of the common man; but the conclusions drawn are those of the thoughtful idealist. This dual point of view on the one hand accounts for the gross caricatures of the priest, the peasant, and the like, and at the same time makes plausible the evidences of an attitude of mind which, on many subjects, is modern rather than mediaeval.

In three ways does Sachs contribute to our knowledge of the age: by outlining the distinctive characteristics of the classes, by revealing the external life of his contemporaries, and by reflecting the mental life of his people.

THE NOBLE

Sachs does not attempt to give a complete picture of the life of the ruling class; he desires, merely, to set off the nobility in contrast with the submerged classes that it may be evident how unfairly the burdens of the world are being distributed. To illustrate his point he is as likely to choose a classical ruler as he is a German noble of his own day. The following Fspe with a German setting have references to the nobility: (1) (2) (15) (27) (35) (43) (61) (75) (81) (83); in plays with a foreign setting: (30) (44) (47) (50) (71) (73) (85).

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The duties of the aristocracy, according to Sachs, are to rule wisely and to protect the land and people, (3) l 391—94; (15) l 90—92; (52) l 188—190. In each case the complaint is made that these duties have not been fulfilled; in fact the noble has oppressed the people, rather than protected them, (9) l 87; (78) l 33. In some instances the noble has degenerated into a confessed robber.[1] (27)

As Sachs never forgets his mission of reformer, although a kindly one, he does not overlook the opportunity to find a lesson in the evil effects of overambition on the part of the ruler, (7) l 358; (30) l 185 ff; (44) l 311 ff; (47) l 311 ff. Likewise the extravagance and vices of the privileged class are intended to serve as a lesson to his audience of the necessity of moderation in living. (cf. Living Conditions, Amusements, etc.)

THE PRIEST

As a staunch supporter of Luther, Hans Sachs delighted in ridiculing the priest. While the priests of Sachs are more worthy of contempt than those in the sources from which the material is taken,[1a] yet he was no more hostile than his immediate contemporaries. As Drews says,[2] the contempt and hatred for the priesthood was general and may be seen from the pictures as well as from the literature, "Unbildung und Rohheit, Habgier und grobe Sinnlichkeit, Genußsucht und brutales Wesen charakterisierten den geistlichen Stand". With all the ridicule of the priesthood, there is only one play in which a direct attack on the Catholic church has been made (53), and even here we are led to believe that the object of his satire is this particular Inquisitor and this one cloister, not the entire institution.[3]

Throughout the Fspe Sachs endeavors to make us believe that he is merely reflecting what the people themselves think of the priest rather than giving us his own opinion. In no play, however,

[1] Gerdes, H., „Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes". Leipzig. p 65—67.
[1a] Geiger, p 268.
[2] Drews, Paul, „Der evangelische Geistliche". 1905. p 13.
[3] Geiger, p 274.

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is the priest really a sympathetic character. Only his worst failings, avarice, immorality, ignorance, and lack of true religion, are emphasized. He shows that all classes, especially the peasant, have been abused by the priest, and since the advent of Luther have shown less respect for the cloth than before.

There are numerous instances in the Fspe where the source has been changed to make the priest appear in a more ridiculous light. For example, Pauli never speaks as disrespectfully of the priest as does Truth in (24). In the source to (27) the abbot has a retinue; in Sachs he is accompanied only by a Pfaffenknecht.[4] In the source to (58) the priest beats the waitress, while here they fight. In the source to (37) the priest is invited to the home of the peasant women, but here he comes uninvited and is shown to be of low character.[5]

With Sachs there is nothing about the priest to enlist our admiration. He is not considered a holy man and practically every evil trait is ascribed to him.

In his private life he is a riotous liver (9) l 64—66; (13) l 195; (27) l 185 ff; (53) l 188—9, and at the same time he is notoriously lazy, (9) l 75 ff; (13) l 155 ff. The most characteristic feature of his private life, the one most frequently referred to by Sachs, is his immorality. In the following plays he is either guilty of immorality or is mentioned as a disturber of domestic relations: (9) l 71; (10) l 101; (12) l 174; (19) l 218; (21) l 264—265; (37) l 7 ff; (38) l 159; (54) l 9; (56) l 40; (57) l 36 ff; (58) l 237; (62) l 413; (65) l 284; (69) l 4 ff; (72) l 375.

As the sacristan says in (69) l 113—14:

„Wer sein Haus halten wil gar saüber
Huet sich vor Pfaffen und vor Taüber..."

The priest as a lovemaker is always described as being uncouth to the extreme. In 54 l 55—56 he is big-mouthed, bent over (bucklet), lame, one-eyed, and resembles a goat in odor. In (37) l 268 ff a similar description is given. The most common

[4] Geiger, p 269.
[5] Geiger, p 271.

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epithet applied to him is "laussing Pfaffen", (34) l 306; (54) l 58; (60) l 188. The trooper (13) l 211—13 shows his contempt for the priest by calling him:

„Den schmaichler, gleisner und den hewchler,
Den dueckischen, hemishen meuchler,
Ein poes kraut uber all krewter."

The peasant (65) l 317 tells him:

„So wis, du pist ein hüeren pfaff,
Fürwicz und gneschich wie ain aff,
Selten ler und allezeit vol."

As a priest he is no better regarded than as a man. He is, above all, avaricious, being willing to do anything for the sake of gain. Of the priest in (51) it is said, l 283—4:

„So er ein pfenning auß geben sol,
So schawdt er in vor dreyman wol."

He himself says, l 264, "Kupffer Gelt, kupffer seelmess". His mind is only on sausages and money l 207—16, and he volunteers to help Eulenspiegel only when he is promised a reward l 308. In (9) l 61—2 his hopes for gain are from "Kirchwey, aplass,[6] creutzfart, wallfart". The inquisitor (53) recounts, at length how he is able to make a substantial living by catching alleged blasphemers, l 48 ff:

„Wo sich erhüb ein Ketzerey,
Von Reychen, armen, jung odr alt,
So hab ich Bepstlichen gewalt,
Dem selben ein straff zu benennen,
In zu würgen oder verbrennen,
Oder in ein presaun zu schaffen,
Oder umb ein Summa gelts zu straffen,
Darmit ich den gemeinen Man
In große forcht gesetzet han,
Das mir ein weil durch list und renck
Sehr viel helküchel, gab und schenk
In meinem beutel hat getragen."

The lower class of clergy often fell so far below the requirements expected of the profession as to practice the black arts. The vagabond priest (schotten pfaff) in (77) makes use of the black art to mystify the peasants, l 45 ff:

„Ich laüff umb auf der thermaney,
Umb steür ich pawren an schrey
Und auch die pewrin in den dingen,
Sag, ich wöl mein erste mes singen.

[6] Freytag, Gustav, „Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit". Leipzig. 1892. Vol II, p 38.

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Darzu hab ich gesamelt zwar
Nün doling pis ins siebent jar;
Wan ich pin leichnam seicht gelert,
Mein künst mir gar leichtlich entpfert.
Ich darff in kain schwais pad nit siczen;
Ich fuercht, mir würt mein kunst ausschwiczen.
Ein deütschen herren geb ich schon;
Wan gar wenig latein ich kan.
Also im lant ich umher reis,
Die pawren ich laich und pescheis,
Henck ainem an hals ain wüntsegen —
Also nert ich mich meine tag
Mit pawren pscheisen, wo ich mag,
Pettl und stiel ain wenig darzu,
Das ist mein handel spat und fru."

The priest also appears as conjuror in (34) l 217 ff; (41) l 220 ff; (51) l 347 ff. In (34) and (51) he is required to cast out devils, while in (41) he has a charm, whereby he may discover who has stolen a side of bacon.

In addition to being unscrupulous the priest is represented as being ignorant. In (77) l 56 he confesses that he knows little Latin; also l 301—2 in the same play, the peasants observe:

„Mich düncket, mein domine,
Wie ir kaüm künt das a. b. c."

The peasants in (65) l 320—23, tell the priest,

„Kanst weder singn noch lesen wol.
Der schrift pistu geleret seicht
Und trüezt allain auf pann und peicht,
Weist uns ein weg, den selb nit gest."

An example of the priest's Latin is given in (51) l 218. In answer to Eulenspiegel's "Bona Dies" the priest replies, "Beneueneritis, semper quies". Cf also (58) l 82.

The threat of excommunication, formerly so feared by the people, has become a joke with the peasants of Sachs. Through the influence of Luther they have begun to realize of how little significance the Bann is. The contempt for the Bann is shown in several of the Fspe. In (27) l 148 the nobleman replies to the threat of excommunication by saying, "So wöllen wir ind Erbeis gahn".[7] Similar replies are made in (53) l 256—7; (54)

[7] Erbeis, Grimm — „Heißt das herumstreifen und auf den feldern erbsen essen".

Handschin, Charles H., „Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs". Bull. U. of

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l 15—16; (65) l 266; (77) l 300. The priest in (9) l 52 laments that the Bann has lost its effectiveness.

In other respects the priest has suffered through the influence of the Reformation. The priest (51) l 208 complains that the peasants do not offer him any more sacrifices nor give him any sausages. In (9) l 50—54 the priest says that he no longer gets money for Seelmess (mass for the dead) or Beichtgelt (confession) and that he often has to fast. In (13) l 153 ff he must collect haller, flax, and cheese the same as any other beggar. He is cursed by the peasant women and is compelled to eat bread and drink water. He says, l 157—8,

„Ich sol arbeiten, sie mich plagen
Und thun mir stez vom Luter sagen."

The Inquisitor (53) l 418 ff also laments the change in attitude towards the church. Supplementing what has been said before he adds, l 423—5:

„Unser Betrug ist worden laut,
Derhalb der Lay uns nicht mer traudt
Und streinet stets umb in der Bibel."

Many of the stock expressions of the day showed the popular contempt for the priesthood. The maid in (4) l 85—6 says:

„Bin ich doch nicht der Babst zu Rom!
Kein gnad, ablaß nye von mir kom."

(8) l 142: "Ich sol ein Priester wern?"

Only occasionally does Sachs show a priest who is not a discredit to his profession. In (42) the monk and abbot cure a man of jealousy, but they have to resort to a trick to accomplish their purpose, l 128 ff. Even here Sachs contrives to emphasize the trickiness of the clergy. The peasant asks Herr Ulrich how the peasants are brought into purgatory, and the latter says that the feat is beyond him, making the work of the abbot the more impressive.[8] In (70) the Waldbruder at first appears to be pious. He watches, serves God with chastisement, sleeps on a hard bed

Wis. No. 103. 1904. p 31 suggests that it is a play on words, Bann being pronounced almost like Bohn(e). The underlying idea. expanded, would be, „So will ich in die erbeis gahn, auffs das ich nit dürff bones essen".

[8] Geiger, p 270.

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and had foresworn earthly honor. Being a priest, however, he yields to temptation at the first sight of a large sum of money.[9]

THE MERCHANT CLASS

The merchant class is frequently alluded to by Sachs, representatives appearing as important characters in the following Fspe: (13) (19) (23) (32) (66) (74) (78); the merchant is also mentioned in (52) l 199—204 and in (70) l 118—21.

The Kaufmann. At the time of Sachs, as today, there was a great difference between members of the selling profession. The wealthiest and most respected was the Kaufmann, many of whose activities are mentioned by Sachs. Since little business was done by correspondence, the merchant having personal supervision over the purchase of his wares, extensive travelling into foreign parts was necessitated. This is true of Sachs's Kaufmänner: (23) l 3 ff; (78) l 151—153, while the Lord in telling one of the sons of Eve that he is to become a merchant adds, (52) l 201—2,

„Und solt bringen allerley war
Von eim Landt in das ander dar."[10]

While on these trips the merchant was always in danger of robbery, either on land or sea. Merchants many times complain of losses incurred in this way:[11] (23) l 282—3; (78) l 153—55; in (70) l 118 the murderers would like to meet a merchant. The danger was so great, that as Steinhausen[12] says, merchants often travelled in large bands by way of protection.

Another source of annoyance was the Zoll, charged by the cities where the goods were to be sold. It was at times exhorbitant, the profits earned by trading not being considered honest.[13] Sachs makes one reference to the Zollhaus (23) l 226.

Once the goods were ready to be placed on sale the merchant

[9] Biedermann, K., „Deutsche Volks- und Kulturgeschichte". Wiesbaden. 1901. Chap. 15. A fair characterization of the priest of the time.

[10] Steinhausen, Georg, „Der Kaufmann". 1899. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte No II, p 20.

[11] Steinhausen, p 51.

[12] Steinhausen, p 21.

[13] Steinhausen. p 23 ff.

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was reasonably sure of a fair profit. In (7) l 173—5 the business of the merchant is told,

„Auffs wölfeilst kauffen und thewrst gebn
Und ander geschicklikeit darnebn
Das füllt mir truhen, seck und kasten."

Nicola (23) l 13—15 and Simplicius (32) l 1 ff have sold their wares to such an advantage that they are well supplied with money. Both are, however, better versed in business than in the ways of the world. It is a kindly delight that the man of letters takes in exposing the deficiencies of the single-track mind.

The annual fairs were the centers of trade.[14] The merchant in (78) l 152 mentions attending the "mes und merck"; in (74) l 1 Simplicius leaves to attend the Frankfort fair.

While as a general rule the merchant with Sachs is successful, failure is by no means uncommon. Simplicius (74) l 5 ff has run into debt; in (19) l 1 ff the merchant finds his obligations so heavy that he is willing to sell his soul to the devil; in (78) l 159—68, when he has piled up debts, he has had recourse to the usurer, who has charged him a high rate of interest. In most cases the merchant has no one but himself to blame for the poor condition of his finances, as he tries to live beyond his means by imitating the rich (78) l 176 ff. It is that characteristic of the merchant that Sachs holds up to ridicule.[15]

Krämer. The small tradesman of the Fspe is little more than a packpeddler. He is inferior to the Kaufmann in social position but is just as essential to the trade of the times, (13) l 92 ff; (66) l 40 ff. His trials are many: he is forced to carry a pack on his back laden with hair ribbons, lace, "schlötterlein",[16] pipes, brandy, sugar, etc, (13) l 97 ff, or with cakes of all kinds, girdles, and needles, (66) l 40 ff, and, at the same time, is compelled to protect himself against robbers, as well as from ill treatment at the hands of the peasants. All details of his life of woe are enumerated by the Krämer in (13), l 101 ff:

[14] Steinhausen, p 27.
[15] Steinhausen, p 32.
[16] Schlötterlein — ribbons used in fastening stockings.

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„Von einer Kirchweich zw der andern
Und all jarmerck mues ich durch wandern,
In allen dörffern in dem Krais,
Den winter kalt, den sumer hais,
Bis ich mein narung thw erholn.
Auch wirt mir leichnam vil gestoln,
Als zucker und leckuchen daffeln.
Die müecken thun mir vil verpaffeln;
Vil pöser schuld hab ich pein pawren.
Oft duet ein schnaphan auf mich lawren,
Nempt mir, was ich lang hab gewunnen,
Des mues ich drincken aus dem prunnen,
Ubel essen und hart liegen,
Pis ich ein andern thw erkriegen."

The same sentiments are expressed by the Kremerin (66) l 74 ff. In the latter case their poverty has been caused by the Krämer's gambling and his wife's drinking, l 16—18, 93.

In the practice of his profession the Krämer is an adept at hoodwinking the public, by such tricks as mixing brick dust with saffran, mousedung with pepper (13) l 129 ff, by selling a radish for a mandrake and by pretending to cure people with roots that he has picked up by the wayside (72) l 107.

Closely allied to the Krämer is Ypocras, the apothecary (79) l 165 ff, who has a booth, where he exhibits for sale saffran, ginger, nutmeg, pepper, capra, and cinnamon. To draw crowds he has built a fire; he then advertises his wares by crying, "Her! her! ich gib ain guetten Kauff", l 178. In name and the nature of his work he recalls the quack and kremer of the old Fspe, cf Sterz IV.

THE PHYSICIAN

While Sachs was one of the first writers to present any physician who was other than the incompetent quack (11) (17), yet even in these two instances there are enough resemblances to the conventional quack to show that Sachs has improved on a stock type rather than originated a new one.[17] The quack had long been a comic figure in the early Fspe and in the religious dramas[18] and Sachs was too desirous of pleasing his audience to humanize

[17] Lier, p 61.
[18] Lier, p 61.

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the physician too much. Yet, for all that, the representatives of this profession seem to observe the fundamental principles of medicine as understood at that time.

Of the physicians who appear in the plays, (11); Simon (16) (17); (76); Isaac (80),[19] the latter is a professed quack. He outlines the nature of his trade, l 55 ff: after having practiced black art for many years, he realized that the peasants were more difficult to deceive and he had often had narrow escapes from personal injury. For that reason he decided to become a quack, although he had no qualifications, and had never studied medicine. He is afraid of the cities and still capitalizes the gullibility of the peasants, who are impressed by the Brief and Siegel, and accept his word for it that the testimonies are authentic. The only cure that he has is a purgative, which in its effect acts as a kill or cure.

The equipment of the quack consists of his identifying "Brief und Siegel",[20] (11) l 17; (80) l 75; glass for urine (11) ff l 45; (16) l 182; (80) l 19. For an operation the physician uses in (11) l 132—3, pincers, razor and sponges, towel and "zu labung sefft und köstlich würtz".

The various kinds of diseases mentioned by Sachs include: dropsy, (5) l 380; (11) l 39; leprosy[21] (11) l 7; gallstones[22] (7)

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[19] Cf the names of the quacks in the old Fspe, Rubein, Keller 66, Sterz XXIV; Maister Vivian, Keller 82; Ipocras, Knoblack, Sterz VI and XXIV.

[20] Cf Brant's Narrenschiff, 76 1 65ff,

„Mancher will Doctor sein,
Der nie ein Buch gelese.
Dan das er hat ein pyrment hut
Do stat sin recht gschrieben an,
Derselb brieff wisst als er kan."

[21] Peters, H., „Der Arzt und der Heilkunst". 1900. Monographien zur deut. Kulturgeschichte III, p 54—56.

Leprosy made its appearance in the twelfth century and raged until the seventeenth. It was considered incurable although serpent wine was thought to have some beneficial qualities. One who was afflicted with this disease secured the „Lazaruskleid der Demütigung" and was given the articles useful for an isolated life. They were: a black robe, on the breast of which were sewed two white bands, also a large hat with a white band, a

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l 138; (11) l 7; (15) l 291; (74) l 130; gout, (3) l 204; (11) l 8; (15) l 291; (79) l 232; coughing, (11) l 8; (68) l 379; St Vitus dance,[23] (12) l 252; (36) l 204; St Urban's plague, (4) l 431; (9) l 69; (13) l 194; (16) l 38; (22) l 178. The intermittent fever is mentioned figuratively in the sense that the three or four day fever is more to be desired than a scolding wife, because a man would have an occasional day of rest: (26) l 5—7; (28) l 13—15; (36) l 288—91. Symbolical diseases are mentioned in (11), avarice, l 171; envy, l 185; lechery, l 204; gluttony, l 221; anger, l 244; laziness, l 260.

Dieases are diagnosed by the examination of the urine,[24] (11) l 44—5; (16) l 186; (80) l 137; and by feeling the pulse, (16) l 187. The color of the patient is also an aid to diagnosis. If he is pale or yellow he is sick: (16) l 121—3; (26) l 14; (36) l 183; (50) l 172; (58) l 149. Death is indicated by the color of the one afflicted, (42) l 193—7:

„Secht ir nit, wie er ist erblichen?
All sein Krefft sint von im gewichen.
Secht nur, wie sich anspitzt sein Nasen,
Sein augen brechen im der Massen,
Sein pulss schlecht nit, er ist schon todt."

Chief among the cures was bleeding, (8) l 368; (27) l 141; (56) l 275—7. In (27) bleeding is to be done as a cure for overindulgence while in (56) it is for the removal of bad blood

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pair of gloves, a little kettle for water, a basket, and a rattle. They lived in „Siechkobeln vor den Städten oder In Hütten auf dem Felde". At certain times they were allowed to go to town to beg.

[23] The removal of gall stones was in charge of travelling quacks. called Steinschneider. Peters, p 83.

[23] St Vitus dance, also called Tanzwut, appeared in four epidemics, 1021, 1278, 1375, and 1418. It was called St. Veitztanz because St Veit was the patron saint of those afflicted. Peters p 61.

[24] The observation of the urine and pulse as means of diagnosis was in general use in the middle ages. It formed the fundamental principle of the old Salernian school. Hippocrates was the model which all the physicians copied, Peters, p 13—18.

It held sway until under the influence of humanism and the invention of printing a closer study of anatomy was made, as well as of plant and animal life. Peters, p 62—69.

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which has caused the woman to be ungovernable. Peters[25] says that the body was charted by the barber-surgeon and for different ailments, different veins were opened. The blood was extracted into wide-necked vessels of metal and glass. No anaesthetic was used by surgeons, cf (11) l 143, "Halt! halt! du thust mir weh".

Baths were recommended as curealls, although Sachs does not refer to them frequently: cf. the Wildbad, (8) l 367; (27) l 116; and the bath maid, (8) l 172.[26]

Roots were supposed to have exceptional healing qualities: (11) l 133; (76) l 100—1. In (49) l 193—6 the following medicinal roots are referred to: wormwood, fennel, bethony, camomile, celandine, basil, majoram, rue, lavender, saturei, Stabwurz. In (79) the roots are given miraculous properties, l 187 ff nutmeg is good for a blow, cinnamon for a thrust, saffran for gout, capra for one bewitched. Cinnamon in (56) l 317 is prescribed for one who is weak.[27]

Little is said about the care of the sick or the afflicted, but the hospital is mentioned, (4) l 43; (6) l 218; (26) l 398; (45) l 62; (68) l 392; also the madhouse, (46) l 210; (49) l 227. Care of the woman is not referred to although the deluded Kargas in (16) 1216 anxiously inquires if he will be in need of a wet nurse

THE INNKEEPER

The innkeeper is a popular type with Sachs and is not treated unsympathetically, possibly for the reason that many of the Fspe were presented in inns. The innkeeper appears in (9) (12) (13) (25) (51)

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[25] Peters, p 33—41.

[26] Concerning baths Peters says (p 49—52) that there were three kinds, Flußbäder, Mineralbäder, and Künstliche Bäder. In public baths all bathed together but in private baths the men and women were separated by a small partition. When the social features of the bath came to assume undue importance, the cities began to pass severe regulations concerning its use. The most famous baths of the day were: Gastein, Ems, Wiesbaden, Wildbad, Pfeffers, zum Ellnbogen.

[27] Of the healing roots mentioned by Peters, p 48, are the following: „Anis, kümmel, koriander, fenchel, nelken, zimmet, kubeln, mandeln, ingwer, pfeffer, pfirsich, weichselkern, und muscatblüte im über gezuckerten zustande".

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(53) (62) (72) (81). As usual they have suggestive names, Kunz Tragauff, (81), Hans Wirt, (51), Simon Wirt, (53); women are in charge in (62) and (72).

Without exception the innkeeper professes poverty, (13) l 1 ff; (25) l 185 ff; (51) l 67 ff; (72) l 1 ff; (81) l 113 ff. In (51) l 67 ff he says that unless there is an improvement in business he will have to eat with the cat. He explains that his poverty is due to the dearness of barley and lack of trade. In (72) l 17 ff he has brought on his own ruin by neglect of business. His wife, who has to run the inn, laments that the peasants have been allowed to run up their bills, which they cannot pay until after harvest, l 10. She expresses the innkeeper's motto, l 5—6:

„Porgen und schreiben ant Kerben
Das möcht ein reicher Wirt verderben."

According to the tavern-keepers in (25) and (81) they occupied a low social position at that time, not merely because of their poverty, but also because of the trade to which they catered. In (25) l 258 ff beggars, rascals (Spitzbuben), pack-peddlers, and Lanzknechte were admitted. The same is true of (81).

The most interesting fact pertaining to the innkeeper, and the one which might have value in placing the social position of this profession so low, was the trickery common to all proprietors of inns. It was the universal practice to put water in the beer and to overcharge, (25) l 190 ff; (51) l 241—2.

The general type of innkeeper at the time of Sachs must have been of low mentality as the innkeeper in (53) is taken as the model of gullibility. The proprietor and his wife in (51) and the wife in (72) fall easy victims of the wiles of Eulenspiegel.

That the innkeeper at times did more than merely take care of trade is indicated in (64) l 39, where he is mentioned as a money lender.

THE ARTISAN

Although Sachs's sympathies are with the laboring class, he is fully aware of their faults and is ever ready to offer constructive criticism. There are only three Fspe with a plot in which the

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artisan is the central figure, (39) (64) (82). The first of these may be considered a Gesellendrama in that it deals with a journeyman learning his trade, while (64) and (82) show the evils caused by excesses and indolence. The broadest treatment of the artisan, however, is found in the revues, especially (9) (13) (78).

One finds a great variety of trades mentioned in the Fspe. The Lord (52) outlines the work of several trades: the shoemaker, l 303 ff, the weaver, l 309 ff and others including, l 353—56, "zimmern, bawn und bachen, hossen, schmiden, drehen und ledergerben, müntzen, scheren und tuch ferben."[28] In (3) l 242 the mason is added and in (13) l 53 the saddler and harness-maker, l 54 the wagner.

In (72) l 120 ff the innkeeper's wife expects a journeyman to be able to perform the following tasks, which may indicate that on occasion he might have to be a Jack-of-all-trades:

„Ich merck, du pist ein handwercksmon,
Kanst etwan kessl und pfannen flicken,
Loffel schniczn oder garen stricken,
Schlotfegen oder protkorb machen,
Stroschneiden oder hüepen pachen,
Holczmessen oder sewen stechen,
Peutl abschneiden oder zen ausprechen,
Korblein zeün oder pessen pinden,
Hüntschlagen oder schelmen schinden,
Sew verschneiden oder hünt schern
Oder pappn haimen?"

Concerning the actual working conditions of the laborer, little is said. The carter (13) l 39 ff enumerates his misfortunes: he has to go out in all kinds of weather and often gets covered with mire, as well as his cart and horse. Accidents often occur whereby his cart gets upset or his horse dies. To make matters worse, his wife is of no assistance to him in the management of his affairs.

Instead of complaining about his own work, the artisan is more apt to complain against the oppression of the other classes. He hates above all the merchant, who demands high prices, and also the usurer, to whom he is often in debt, (9) l 132—8; (78) l 102—9. The reasons for this state of affairs are many. The

[28] At Nürnberg at this time there were about 400 recognized trades. Rehm, H. S., „Deutsche Volksfeste und Volkssitten". Leipzig. p 63.

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dissolute habits of the laborer prevent him from being able to save any money. The fact that his family exists at all may be traced to the good management of his wife, (64) l 18—19; (82) l 96. He loves drink and gambling (13) l 79 ff, and is accustomed to celebrate Monday as well as Sunday, (9) l 146—7; (64) l 9; (78) l 124—6; (82) l 95.[29] Another reason for his poverty was woman, (9) l 149—50; (78) l 127—8. Often the laborer became a Lanzknecht and went to the wars, leaving his family in distress. When he returned, having seen the ways of the rich, he tried to copy them and soon ran into debt, (78) l 135—41.[30] The principal reason, however, for the poor state of the finances of the artisan was that he overcrowded the trade by taking on too many apprentices, (78) l 128 ff; (9) l 151—8.[31] According to Mummenhoff this was especially true of Nürnberg. The usual apportionment was one apprentice and two assistants to every master. To prevent crowding, a period was sometimes established in different cities when no apprentices were taken on.[32]

In only one play (39) is any reference made to learning a trade.[33] In this play the youth, a butcher's assistant, is sent

[29] Mummenhoff, E., „Der Handwerker". Monographien zur deut. Kulturgeschichte. Leipzig. 1900. No VIII, p 70 states that guter or blauer Montag was given in order that the day might be spent by the workmen to hold meetings, or to go to public baths. When the privilege came to be abused, it was abolished.

[30] Liebe. Georg, „Der Soldat". Monographien zur deut. Kulturgeschichte, 1899. Leipzig. No I, p 24. Freytag II, p 4—5.

[31] Mummenhoff, p 109 ff.

[32] Mummenhoff, p 56.

[33] Mummenhoff p 59, for hardships which the apprentice had to undergo. The apprentice entered the house of the master and was subjected to his discipline. He often had to do the housework and consequently did not always learn his trade. His food and lodging were poor, and he was abused by all, even by the assistant, yet heavy penalties were exacted for running away unless it could be proved that the apprentice was not at fault. It was not much better with the assistant. Upon entering a new town he found out from the Schenkgesellen where there was work to be had. He usually hired for a six months' service and worked an average of from 12 to 14 hours a day. He was under the discipline of the master and was granted but few liberties.

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out into the world to gain experience. This period of travel was considered an essential, for as the old proverb says, (39) l 55—7:

„Wie das ein ungeschmaltzen kraut
Und auch ein ungwanderter gsel
Sindt nichtsen werdt."

The mother gives the familiar advice to avoid bad company and evil women, to write often, and to send word if he is ill l 65. The father gives him a paternal handclasp, and what is more to the point, a small sum of money. The youth does not meet with any striking adventures but does find that jealousy exists between artisans.

LANZKNECHT

The Lanzknecht, an important figure in Germany during the sixteenth century, is not often mentioned by Sachs, appearing as a chief character only in (2) (9) (13) and (68), although references are made to him in several other Fspe.

Although Sachs sees little of the hero in the Lanzknecht, it is evident that this class was admired greatly by the youth of the times. He was usually a peasant or an artisan who had gone into military service for the glory and financial benefits he would receive (78) l 135[34] He visited foreign lands und returned with weird tales of adventure. He was able to judge from a different standpoint from thal of the pilgrims, merchants, travelling scholars and minstrels, who had gleaned their information from a subservient position, while he, the Lanzknecht, had gained his as the conquerer.[35]

While not regarding the Lanzknecht as a hero, Sachs has full sympathy for the hardships he had to undergo. In (9) l 162—175 the Lanzknecht laments that he has to work on land and sea, with his life always at stake, that he is often out of employment and many times has to serve with half pay.[36] He describes his duties in l 173—5:

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[34] Liebe, p 24 ff.

[35] Liebe, p 26; Freytag II part III, p 4—5.

[36] Liebe, p 28—38. The average pay for the Lanzknecht was about four guelden a month. In addition he earned considerable from booty. The pay, however, was irregular, and a portion was usually kept by the officers.

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„In schantzen, graben und schiltwachten
In scharmützln, stürmen und feldschlachten,
Auf dem Mumplatz muß ich mich palgen."

In (13) l 216 ff he maintains that he must venture all for his lord, even though he has to sleep in vermin-infested stalls. He has to ride in the wind and rain and sleep in his armor. He has no pledge of money and is often compelled to pawn his coat, boots, and spurs. He claims to be disdained by the dwellers of town and country. Of him the gypsy says, l 252 ff, that he drinks and gambles all night, deceives people, boasts, lies, is insodent, and that he is not as brave as he claims to be,[37] l 261, "Du e ein laus fechst, den ein hasen". The peasant (15) l 162 ff says that in wartime he loses his horse, cow, poultry to the Lanzknecht. The same is claimed by the peasant in (9) l 87 and (78) l 33.

While some of this profession saved money,[38] the most were alternately rich and poor. When they had money they led a life of dissipation. Upon taking a town they would array themselves in silks and satins and give no thought for the morrow. Cards and dice were their main diversions. The return of the disillusioned artisan-Lanzknecht is described by Sachs (78) l 138 ff:

„Und wen ir den kümet herwider,
Müst ir den reichen laüffen zu gnaden
Und schweren wuecher auf eüch laden,
Und wolt doch lebn den reichen gleich."

The soldier, aside from the Lanzknecht, does not appear in the Fspe, but several of the weapons used at this time are enumerated: sword (68) l 138; (79) l 194; (83) l 31; lance (spies, including the Schweinspies, which on occasion might serve a dual purpose) (8) l 156; (51) l 338; (68) l 138; (79) l 206; (84) ff l 321; battle ax (68) l 138; crossbow (8) l 188; (27) l 288; (69) l 316; (72) l 96; (82) l 16; musket, (27) l 55; (83) l 31; (72) l 96. Shield und harness are also mentioned (68) l 137.[39]

Sometimes an army killed its officers and took to pillaging. This was also apt to be the case when the Lanzknechte „vergarteten" before joining another master.

[37] Liebe, p 49—50.

[38] Liebe, p 36—39.

[39] Liebe. 26. Am Rhyn, Dr Otto Henne von, „Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes". Berlin 1886. p 269—271.

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Liebe[40] maintains that Sachs, as well as Murner and other writers of the period, is not fair to the Lanzknecht. While he admits his shortcomings, he claims that the German Lanzknecht had a sense of humanity, considerably more so than the mercenaries of other countries, the Spanish for example. Joachim Ilmhoff writes of his deep sympathy for the people and his own disinclination to get rich at their expense. Liebe, however, speaks of the attitude of Sachs as being characteristic of the times. "In allen diesen ungezählten Schnurren wird der Lanzknecht in der Regel sehr glimpflich behandelt. Er ist der harmlose Bruder Lustig oder der täppisch gutmütige Eisenfresser, eine recht Verkörperung des alten deutschen Charaktertypus des deutschen Michels."

[40] Liebe, p 50—51.

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The Peasant, Part I — Peasant as a Comic Figure

Because of the ancient hostility between the townsman and the peasant, it is only to be expected that Sachs should treat the peasant as a comic figure. Yet, by comparing Sachs's treatment of this class with that of the other classes, one is led to believe that he is, except in a few particulars, as fair to the peasant as to any of the others. Sachs takes the comic where he finds it and spares no one. His object is to teach a lesson, and if he can do this best by satire, he does not hestiate to use it.[1] Just how far Sachs has advanced in regard to his treatment of the peasant can be made clear by reference to the literature that preceeded him.

During the height of the Middle High German period, when the contrast between the city and the town was not so great the writers were much fairer to the peasant than in later times. Neidhart, Goeli, der Taler, Steinmar, Hadlaub, Tannhäuser, and other poets of the time portrayed country life in its fresh naturalness, in contrast with the affectedness of court life. Their portrayal of the country folk was humorous but not unsympathetic.[2] They did, however, protest against the peasants' affectation of court life, especially as regards their manner of dress, which contrasted sharply with their actions.[3]

During the following centuries, however, when the contrast between the city and the country became more marked, the hostility towards the peasant grew more apparent in literature. The "Social Tendenz", says Möller,[4] was the basis for "die rohe, hochmütige Verspottung des ungeschlachten Bauerntölpels". At

[1] Möller, H.W. T., „Die Bauern in der deut. Lit. des 16ten Jahr." Berlin. 1912. p 63.

[2] Möller, p 6.

[3] Möller, p 6; cf Hagelstange, p 49—50.

[4] Möller p 7.

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the same time, the factors which led to the peasants' revolt were at work. The peasant was not only oppressed more and more,[5] but he was beginning to have a consciousness that his lot should be improved.[6]

Am Rhyn suggests that the representation of the peasant as we find him is due to the fact that the other classes were afraid of him.[7] Whatever may have been the causes for this hostility, the pictures and literature of the times show the peasant consistently as "roh, tölpelhaft, widerhaarig, falsch, böshaft, und sobald sie reich wurden, verschwenderisch und hochmütig, beides in alberner, ungeschickter Weise."[8]

In no field of literature did this class fare so ill as in the Fsp. The town audience, composed largely of artisans, enjoyed any spectacle which held the peasant up to ridicule. Hence the peasant in the Fspe of the Keller collection is intended to be nothing more than a caricature. In the Keller Fspe the following features hostile to the peasant are found:[9] monologues in which one peasant tries to outdo the other in vulgar talk, 3, 4, 8, 23, 28, 45; drunkenness and gluttony, 3, 5, 12, 28, 51, 66, 70, 104 109; beatings, 4, 21, 53, 67, 123; marriage scandals, 3, 4, 5,

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[5] Möller, p 5–6, „Die wirtschaftlichen Umwälzungen seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters hatten für den deutschen Bauernstand einen Verfall auf allen Gebieten des Lebens zur Folge. Das Absterben der markgenossenschaftlichen Verfassung legte das öffentliche Leben des Bauern lahm, die Leibeigenschaft vernichtete die individuelle Freiheit und die Übervölkerung des Landes, die Entwicklung des Kapitalismus, die immer drückenderen Steuern und Frondienste führten vereint den materiellen Niedergang herbei. Ein geistiger und sittlicher Tiefstand entsprach diesen Voraussetzungen und wurde Anlaß zu dem brutalen Hohn, dem der Bauer allenthalben begegnete, und der die Rachsucht und Verbissenheit höhern half, die, als die unvermeidliche soziale Krisis eintrat, sich in den Gräueln des Bauernkrieges entlud."

[6] Freytag, p 5. „Eine Ahnung der eigenen Kraft und Tüchtigkeit zog nach langer Zeit zum ersten Mal durch die Seelen der Gemeinen. Auch waren sie Männer; in ihrer Hütte hingen der Knebelspieß und an ihrem Gürtel das lange Messer."

[7] Am Rhyn, Vol I, p 252; Hagelstange, p 38.

[8] Am Rhyn, I, p 252.

[9] Möller, p 8—9.

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88, 120, 132; laughable accounts of bride-wooing and love adventures, 7, 12, 13, 40, 58, 65, 70, 74, 94; 130; 132; immorality; 5, 13, 14, 28, 40, 112, 132; courtroom scenes, 69, 112, 130; peasant beatings by quack, 6, 48, 82, 120; by the Krämer, 54; by Neidhart, 21, 53.

In other Fspe it was the same, cf Sterz I and XXV, where a contrast is made between the dwellers of the city and the country.[10] The comic peasant occurs also in "Ein Vasnachtspil von dreyen pauern" (1461). Here their uncouthness is emphasized.

With Sebastian Brant and Sachs there is a satirico-didactic tendency, the object being not so much to arouse laughter at the peasant as to make their auditors and readers think.[11] Sachs even glorifies the condition of the peasant (15) (52) and in the Meistergesang "Von den ungleichen Kindern Evas". In (26) Sachs has so changed the material that motherwit is shown to advantage over culture and not as in Keller 60 the emphasis upon the peasant's stupidity.[12] In this respect Sachs has much in common with the folksbook,[13] where the so-called higher classes can not compete with their less favored brethren in a match of wits.

Yet Sachs, for the sake of comedy, has retained many of the objectionable features of the old Fspe.[14] This is especially true as regards the names given to the peasant. A brief list will show many names similar to those of the old Fspe: Haincz flegel, Simon Frawenknecht (12); Molkendremel, Herman Hirnlos, Velle Mistfinck, Eberlein Hiffendorn, Seiz auf der Weinstrassen, Fridlein Zettenschais, Künzl Kleyenfurz (20); Hainz Tötsch, Herman Grampas (21); Heintz Lötsch, Conz Tötsch (36); Heintz Bierdopff, Ula Dolkopff (51); Hermann Dol, Heintz Knol, Kunz Drol (41); Fritz Kegel (81); Eberlein Dildapp (62); Ulla Sewfist (75); Nickel Rubendunst (42).

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[10] Möller, p 25.

[11] Möller, p 11.

[12] Möller, p 6.

[13] Möller, p 17.

[14] Arndt, Wilhelm, „Die Personennamen im altdeutschen Schauspiele des Mittelalters". Breslau. 1904. Germ. Abhandlungen. 23.

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The peasant is furthermore described as being ugly. Peasants are often spoken of as "die groben pawren" (12) l 363; (13) l 159; (15) l 310; in (20) the description of the noses includes every deformity and disagreeable feature possible.

Peasants are held up to ridicule by being worsted, by a thief (25) (59); by Eulenspiegel (77); by other peasants (41); by a quack, (16) (80); by a travelling scholar, (22) (37); they are also made ridiculous in (34) and (42), through their stupidity. The humiliation of the peasants in (75) is not original with Sachs, being taken with little variation from the source, Keller 21, 53.

Sachs also likes to emphasize the failings of the peasant. In (10) l 111 ff, the man gets drunk, tries to bowl but can not, plays cards and loses, borrows but does not pay back, and often appears in court. Dishonest peasants are found in (59) l 252 ff and in (24) l 238, where the peasant woman admits that she does not always tell the truth about their oats, wheat, barley, milk, lard, cows, pigs, and horses.

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The Peasant — Part II The Real Peasant

In the main Sachs considers the peasant as an individual with a soul of his own, independent of the will of the ruling classes. His is the peasant that is becoming restive under the weight of multiplying taxes and duties and is beginning to realize his own power. He is crude, of course, but he is beginning to inspire fear. He is the most important character in the Fspe, appearing in: (2) (4) (9) (10) (12) (15) (20) (21) (22) (24) (25) (26) (34) (36) (37) (38) (41) (42) (51) (52) (54) (59) (62) (65) (67) (75) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81). In these plays we find his entire life-history revealed. We find him complaining about the excessive taxes and compulsory service, the Steur, (3) l 317; (9) l 85; "rent, zinst, güelt und fron", (78) l 31. In (25) l 21 to 23 the peasant is compelled to appear in court to answer a complaint of the Zinsherr, or lord of the manor. Even the custom of paying taxes in produce on feast days is indicated by references to Easter eggs, Martinmas goose (27) l 41 and the Shrovetide cock (21).[1]

Aside from the taxes and the services rendered, the peasant had much to complain of in his treatment by the nobles. In the feuds between the barons the victor would prey upon the land of his defeated rival. The peasant was also subject to attacks from robber knights and the Lanzknechte[2] (9) l 87, (78) l 33 and 42 ff:

„Der Krieg mich oft in grund verderbt,
Freund unde feint mir fallen ein,
Dreiben mir hin ros, kue und schwein.
Hab ich etwan mein gelt eingraben
So erwischen mirs die kriegesknaben;
Auch wird mir haus und hoff abrent."

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[1] Gerdes, p 19—23; Hagelstange, Alfred, „Süddeutsches Bauernleben im Mittelalter". Leipzig. 1898. p 1—55.

Bartels, A., „Der Bauer". Leipzig. 1900. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte". p 16 ff.

[2] Gerdes, p 65—67; Biedermann, Chap. 14.

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In (15) l 162—4 he also mentions losing horses, cattle, poultry in time of war. In (9) l 87 and (78) l 33 the priest and beggar[3] are also included among those who try to make a living from the peasant, and in addition to these the travelling scholar (22) (37) and the rogue (25) (59) (77) look upon the peasant as their legitimate victim.

The work of the peasant was much the same as today, the duties being given as plowing, sowing, planting, cutting, mowing, threshing, making hay, cutting wood and clearing ground (reutten), "Ernehren alle menschen gar", (2) l 81; (9) l 82; 83; (15) l 109 ff; (52) l 322—5 ff; (78) l 28 ff. At this time the three field method of agriculture was in use.[4] One field was planted in summer crops, the second in winter crops, and the third left fallow.[5] The community regulated the crops and determined the kind of crops to be planted and where, as well as designated what fields were to be left fallow. The time for field work was regulated by the church calendar, the patron deity being Margaretha of Antioch.[6] As Bartels says,[7] "Man begann jede Arbeit an dem Tage eines bestimmten Heiligen, der womöglich durch einen Volksreim festgelegt war".

The products as mentioned by Sachs are: oats, turnips, cabbage, barley, flax and wood (9) l 117—19; lentils (20) l 152; wheat (24) l 238.[8] In (67) l 49 ff the peasants are interested in grape culture.

Among the implements used on the farm are: mallet (20) l 46; (36) l 127; (41) l 93; heppn (kind of sickle) (36) l 127; ax (36) l 127; (54); pick-ax (61) l 156; plow (36) l 131;[9] flail (36)

[3] Freytag, p 5.

[4] Bartels, p 45—48; Gerdes, p 23ff.

[5] Gerdes, p 23—32.

[6] Hagelstange, p 156.

[7] Bartels, p 47.

[8] Bartels, p 46; Hagelstange, p 155.

[9] Hagelstange, p 156, gives a description of the plow at that time. „Das Vordergestell war mit zwei Rädern und einer Deichsel versehen, woran die Pferde zogen; das Hintergestell wurde gebildet durch den Pflugbaum, durch welchen in der Mitte das Vordereisen herabhing und an dessen Ende sich hinten der Sterz befand, woran der Bauer den Pflug führte."

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l 128; (41) l 93; shovel (61) l 156; hayfork (36) l 128; (79) l 206; dungfork (36) l 128; (80) l 175;[10] schweinspies (51) ff l 338; (79) l 206.

Among the dairy products are eggs, milk, lard, cheese (25) l 4; (34) l 9; (37) l 95; (77) l 30. In the latter play, butter, cabbage, and lettuce are also taken to market. It seemed to be the duty of the peasant woman to have charge of the dairy work as well as to take the produce to market. In (25) l 8 ff the duties of the daughter are, to feed the cow, get supper, do the housework, get up "umb drutten Hanen schlag", milk the cow and leave for market. The peasant woman in (34) l 8 ff and (80) l 50—1 have the same or similar work to do. Regarding the household work, the defeated man in (28) l 120 ff says that he will have to spin, wind and unwind yarn, throw out the waste water, sweep, make the beds and wash, as well as "sudeln und prudeln in dem Asche", which seems to mean "potter around".

The domestic animals mentioned by Sachs correspond to those raised today.[11] They include: horses (15) l 163; (36) l 123; (67) l 263; (78) l 44. "Ein mehren grab" (10) l 138; (36) l 66; (59) l 7; (80) l 43. Cows, (15) l 163; (34) l 40; (67) l 263; (78) l 44. "Die schwartze Ku", (25) l 131; (36) l 115; (41) l 144.[12] Sheep, (36) l 221; (67) l 263; goats, "graben pock" (36) l 125; (59) l 191; "die scheckten gaiss" (36) l 116. Pigs, (34) l 40; (36) l 125; (67) l 263; (78) l 44. Of poultry the following varieties are enumerated: hens, (15) l 163; (36) l 117; the black cock (21) l 17; geese (15) l 30; (36) l 117; ducks (15) l 30; (58) l 62.

With the possible exception of the cow, the horse was the most important of all domestic animals.[13] They were used for all kinds of farm work, although oxen were occasionally used for plowing.[14] Horses were also used as beasts of burden and, on

[10] Bartels, p 45—47; Hagelstange, p 156; Gerdes, p 23—32; 64—65.
[11] Hagelstange, p 131 ff; Bartels, p 49—52.
[12] Here „Die schwartze Kunst".
[13] Bartels, p 49.
[14] Hagelstange, p 135; Bartels p 45.

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account of the poor condition of the roads, most of the traveling was done on horseback (80).[15]

With the growth of cities, however, cows attained a great importance, being raised extensively for their products, milk, butter, cheese (25) l 4 ff; (34) l 9 ff; (77) l 25—30.[16] Sheep were raised not only for wool but also for food and leather.[17] Nevertheless pigs afforded most of the meat for the mediaeval peasant. Three varieties of pigs were raised, bacon hogs, lard hogs, and Frischlinge (shoats),[18] which were marketed early. Slaughtering took place once in the year, in the fall.[19] It was regarded as a festive occasion, the entire neighborhood taking part. The method of killing was with the schweinspies (72) l 125. After the animal had been killed, the meat was salted and smoked. A great portion was made into sausages, a part of which was given to the neighbors. Sachs refers to this custom: in (51) l 211—12 the priest laments that he does not receive any more sausages, and in (41) l 74 ff the stingy peasant refuses to give any to his neighbors.

Regarding poultry little information is given by Sachs other than to mention eggs as a part of the produce taken to market. Gerdes[20] states that eggs and poultry were universally used for the payment of taxes. Chickens were usually kept in the back yards and frequently strayed into the yards of neighbors (21). To kill a chicken that had offended in this manner was not considered unlawful.[21]

So much of the peasant's income was derived from live stock that the loss of any animal was a severe blow[22] (67) l 263. For this reason they were well taken care of. In winter they were kept in their stalls,[23] in many places under the same roof as the dwelling.

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[15] Gerdes, Chap 6.
[16] Hagelstange, p 133.
[17] Hagelstange, p 138.
[18] Hagelstange, p 137.
[19] Hagelstange, p 231; Gerdes, p 43—44.
[20] Gerdes, Chap 6.
[21] Hagelstange, p 143.
[22] Gerdes, p 65.
[23] Bartels, p 51.

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The sides were well weatherboarded, the floors being covered with srtaw, hay and kept reasonably clean.[24] The various foods given to the stock are enumerated by Hagelstange.[25] Cows were fed hay, wheat and millet straw, cabbages, turnips, and clover; sheep, rye straw, hay and leaves, often mixed with cabbage, turnips and acornmeal; pigs, acorns and beechnuts, oats and other grains.

In the summer, all stock was let out on pasture.[26] Sachs frequently alludes to the horn of the village mayor as the signal to turn out the stock, (22) l 251—2; (34) l 39—41; (79) l 143—6. Pigs, however, were usually driven to the forest.[27] A herdsman was appointed by the community to look after all the stock on pasture, the members of the community paying him pro rata.[28] The duties of the herdsman are enumerated by the Lord in giving his instructions to one of the sons of Eve (52) l 315 ff:

„Du aber solt ein Scheffer wern,
Die schaff solt melcken unde schern,
Sie füren auft waidt suss und gut,
Vor wölffen sie haben in hut
Und von im machen kess und schmalz."

If the herdsman shouted for help at the approach of a wolf, he was not held responsible, but failing to do this he had to make reparation for any loss sustained.[29]

It is the wolf that causes the most annoyance to the peasants of Sachs: (6) l 216; (4) l 194; (9) l 89; (36) l 158; (42) l 400; (52) l 318; (78) l 35. Punishments for a captured wolf are suggested in (36) l 224 ff, to pull out his teeth, put out his eyes, put him on a table and skin him alive, hang him up by the tail, drown him in a well, burn him in an oven, and cut off his ears. Other pests were: fox (9) l 89; (78) l 35; marten, (9) l 89; ravens (9) l 89; (6) l 216; (78) l 35; crows (9) l 89; (78) l 35.[30]

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[24] Hagelstange, p 131—132.
[25] Hagelstange, p 135.
[26] Hagelstange, p 134; Bartels, p 50.
[27] Hagelstange, p 140.
[28] Bartels, p 50.
[29] Hagelstange, p 142; Bartels p 50.
[30] Bartels, p 46.

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A trait truly characteristic of all tillers of the soil that has been noted by Sachs is the embellishment of the peasant's language by agricultural expressions;

(21) 1 13—15, „Mein Nachbar, wie sichst du so saur,
Samb hab dirs Korn zerschlagn der Schauer
Oder sey dir der wein erfroren?"
(64) 1 64—5, „Wie siczt du also trawriclich,
Als ob dir der wein erfrorn?"
(65) 1 8—10, „Hat dir der Schaur den hopffen erschlagen?
Oder sint dir die zwieffel erfrorn?
Oder hast ein hueffeisen verlorn?"

These expressions cf (67) 1 255—6 show how greatly the peasant of that time feared the elements.[31]. The mention of the horseshoe suggests one of the superstitions of the peasant, that a horseshoe placed on the stall door would keep away evil spirits.[32]

THE JEW

Although not so brutal in his antipathy against the Jew as his contemporaries and immediate predecessors (cf the old Fspe and wood cuts), Sachs detested the race, as is shown by his conclusion to (76) 1 410—11, where he says that he is glad that there are no Jews in Nürnberg. The Jew is never considered in a favorable light and is always the object of contempt and derision. In the Fspe examples are given of the two Jewish professions, usury and medicine. As central figures in the Fspe appear the Jewish money grabbers Kargas (16), Reichenberger (32), Mosse and Esaw (76); in (9) and (78) different classes have recourse to the usurer. Reichenberger (32) is a typical example of the grasping Jew. His ways of making money are, 1 26 ff: by his mines, factory, grainfields, and guardianship. He laments that no one will pay him nine per cent interest. He complains of the extravagence of his wife and believes he is hopelessly ruined because a few small repairs have to be made upon the house. He is almost heartbroken when his servant steals an old doublet. Having such attributes, it is not surprising that they should steal from the poor Simplicius, nor that he, in turn, should be victimized

[31] Gerdes, p 64.
[32] Bartels, p 51.

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when the chance for more gain presents itself. The nine percent, however, was small interest for the time. The merchant in (78) l 168 has to pay ten per cent, while according to Liebe[33] in early times forty-three percent and even higher interest was allowed on weekly loans.

Kargas (16) is a close-fisted Jew, more of a miser than usurer. In (76) l 275—77 the Jews mention the fact that a man has forfeited his pledge and that they will have to sell him out. The universality of usury at this time is shown in (78) where all people, noble, villager, poor, rich, young and old, have been victimized.[34] The moral drawn, nevertheless, is that it has been largely their own fault.

As a quack, the Jew appears in (11) (16) (17) (80). In only one play (80) is he important. Isaac practices the black art to fool the peasants, by prophesying, finding lost articles and buried treasures, and by giving charms; but he confesses that all his powers are assumed.[35].

While Sachs introduces the Jew as a usurer and continues him as a quack, he has omitted all the controversies which were common in the old Fspe, as "Von der alten und neuen Ee", "Von Kaiser Konstantin", "Die Entkrist Fastnacht",[36] and also the passion plays where the church and synagogue engage in arguments.

THE SERVANT

The serving class, while not of frequent occurrence in the Fspe of Sachs, is not very well individualized, and, from the

[33] Liebe, George, „Das Judentum". Leipzig. 1903. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. XI. p 9.

[34] Liebe, p 9.

Frankl, Oscar, „Der Jude in den dt. Dichtungen des 15., 16. und 17ten Jahrh." Leipzig. 1905. p 91.

No matter how badly the Jew was hated, he was indispensable to the growth of cities. Sachs seems to have been the first Fsp writer to mention the Jew as a usurer, although he was quite generally represented as a quack.

[35] The Jew as a quack is of course related to the Krämer in the passion plays and the old Fspe. Frankl, p 100; Liebe, p 59.

[36] Frankl, p 15—17.

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lack of material on the subject, it is difficult to judge just how accurately the class is portrayed.[37]

Man-servants, serving a variety of masters, including nobles and wealthy citizens, an abbot, physician, and peasants or poor villagers appear in the following Fspe: (1) (4) (10) (11) (27) (36) (47) (50) (66) (79) (80) (81) (83) (85).

As may be expected it is chiefly the bad traits of the servants that are emphasized. He is, above all, notoriously lazy, (4) l 147; (66) l 1 ff, cf Kellor, 64. In all the Sachs plays the servant loiters when sent upon some task by his master. He is furthermore dishonest, (10) l 149; in (32) l 62 Reichenberger complains that the servant has purloined his doublet; Klas Schellentaus (81) l 189—90, steals all his master's property he can lay hands on in order to continue his gambling. Few servants are loyal to their masters. The servants in (27) l 193 ff revolt against the robber knight when they do not get their share of booty. In (50) l 89 ff Gnato and Dromo forsake their master when he is unable to pay them. The latter are, however, not typically German, but rather represent the stock type of servant as found in the Latin comedies.

The man-servant is also a lover of low amusements. In (4) l 146 he drinks heavily and carries the celebration on over Monday. In (10) l 142 ff Künzel is a thief, drunkard and unscrupulous villain. The servant in (4) and Klas (81) are just as bad.

Another almost universal characteristic of the servant is his braggadocio and the accompanying cowardice. The abbot in (27) l 95—7 implies this, as well as the servant's gluttony:

„Du bist ein Fechter hinderm Ofen,
Da die Würst und die Hering trofen,
Und bey der feisten Klostersuppen."

The maid (10) l 193 tells the man-servant, "Du darffst kaum einen Hasen schrecken."

[37] Hagelstange, p 93—6, says that the class did not fare so badly at this time. They were usually hired for a period of a year, and while in the service they were under the strict discipline of the master, who, however, did not abuse them. The chief requirements were orderliness, punctuality, and faithfulness. All unfaithfulness was severely punished. They were also required to attend religious services on Sundays and festal days. The pay was poor and included the barest necessities of dress and a little money.

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The Bauernknecht (36) l 47—9 boasts of his own greatness:

„Wann ich bin Heintzlein frischer Knecht,
Spring uber all Misthauffen schlecht,
Allmal dew frewdigst an dem Tanz."

Hainz Hederlein (79) l 1—2 is the most boastful fo all:

„Jüech, jüech, jüech, far aüs unmüet,
Ich pin vil wilder den sewplüet."

and again, l 60 ff:

„Ich bin der Hainczel frischer Knecht
Und spring über alle mist haüffen.
Ich wil im pald ain Kappen kaüffen,
Wan ich pin fraydig uberaüs.
Von unserm Dorf hab ich nun daus
Drey genshirten in wald gejagt."

Only once are the duties of the man-servant enumerated: the groom in (83) l 26 ff is told to draw off the boots of the guest and polish them, remove his mantel, musket, and sword, take care of his horse by bedding him with straw, currying him and giving him feed and water.

Typical servant names are: Heintz (27) (66) (79) (80); Klas Schellentaus (81); Künzel, (10); Fritz, (83).

The maid is apparently no better than the manservant. She appears in (4) (10) (23) (40) (43) (45) (57) (58) (66) (84), serving peasant women, well-to-do women of the middle class, and occasionally an adventuress (23) and priest (58), (79) l 66.

She dislikes work, (4) l 119 ff; (10) l 159. She is careless and is often fined for breaking dishes (4) l 179—81; (32) l 66—67. In the latter play she has stolen an undershirt and a sleeping cap, l 62—4. It is frequently noted that she is careless about her morals, (4) l 136—8; (9) l 58; (10) l 167; (65) l 31; (66) l 308.

While little is said about the household duties of the maid she is frequently of service in her mistress's amours (23) (40) (43) (57). In (45) l 23—5 she suggests that her mistress take a lover, and in (84) she assists the widow Fransiska in discomfiting the young gallants.

She is given typical names; Metz (23); Anna (40); Agneta (43); Ursula (45); Margareta (57) (58); Hilde (84); Gredt (10); Elss (4).

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THE VAGABOND

The Beggar. The beggar is not of frequent occurrence in the Fspe of Sachs but is completely described (9) (51). The beggar in (9) is representative of the class that was still enjoying its golden age during the early sixteenth century.[38] He laments l 200—24 that he is abused by all other classes. He is accused of treason, arson, robbery, and laziness. Whenever he enters a village the dogs bark at him,[39] and he is often pursued by peasant women. He can not adapt himself to the changing weather conditions, being cold in winter and uncomfortably warm in summer. He considers himself fortunate, indeed, if he has a bed of straw to sleep on. Furthermore, he is constantly annoyed by such pests as rats, mice, fleas, lice, and flies. The blind beggars (51) l 28—40 have to undergo the same hardships. Of the beggar it is said (9) l 231—234:

(du) „Im Sommer untern Zeunen hausest,
Im Schatten deine Kleider lausest,
Du stelst dich kranck, du hinckst und kreist,
Bis du die Leut umbs Gelt bescheist."

According to Hampe[40] this accusation is just. He states that beggars such as these existed and were called "starke Bettler". In the "Liber Vagatorium", published to instruct the public concerning the beggar's trade, a number of devices for enlisting the sympathy of the people may be found. The beggars became such a pest in Germany that, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, they were restricted in their activities and were kept in check by the Bettelrichter.[41] The blind beggars (51) l 46 express fear of the Bettelrichter, who seizes them and puts them in stocks.

The Gypsy.[42] Similar to the beggar, both with respect to his

[38] Hampe, Th., „Fahrende Leute", Leipzig 1902. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. X, p 66.

[39] Cf the old English nursery rhyme,

„Hark! Hark! the dogs do bark,
The beggars are coming to town."

[40] Hampe, p 67 ff.

[41] Hampe, p 83.

[42] Hampe, p 77—82. At the time Sachs writes the gypsy was growing more and more unpopular although a century previous they had been looked

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mode of living and the regard with which he is held, is the gypsy (10) (13). In (13) l 275 ff he complains that he can get no shelter from the elements, and that he is accused of being a thief and a menace to society. In (15) l 44—5 mention is made of a child stolen by a gypsy.

The profession of the gypsy was, of course, to tell fortunes. In (10) l 76 he says that he can also find lost articles, make love potions, prophesy, and tell where there is hidden treasure. To explain why it is that he tells so many lies he says (13) l 295 ff that unpopular, he was forced to tell the people what they wanted to know. The gypsy in (10) l 199 ff finds that the truth is not desired. The gypsy as a giver of advice is mentioned in (64) l 193, where the man says that his wife lectures him in the way a gypsy would. The expression "black as a gypsy" occurs (39) l 362, and also (10) l 154, "heiss die Amschel dir mehr singen".

Travelling Scholar. A student by profession but a vagabond in his method of living, the travelling scholar was a source of annoyance to the people of the late middle ages. With Sachs he secures more recognition on account of his knavery than his learning (22) (37) (40). One play dealing with this type (29). Die drei Studenten is not available. That he is compelled to live by his wits is admitted by the scholar in (37) l 167 ff, who says that he has studied the black art and is able to find lost articles, to cure all manner of ills, foretell the future, find treasure, conjure up the devil and, like a true magician, "auch zu Nacht

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upon almost as holy figures. Gypsies did not make their appearance into Germany until the year 1417. They claimed to be Christians of heathen parentage, who, to atone for the sin of their ancestors — refusing aid to the holy family on its way through Egypt — were doomed to wander. Thus, for many years, they were given great liberties, but their depredations became so great that in the second half of the fifteenth century they were regarded as unwelcome guests, several cities passing edicts against them. They were believed to have evil powers and to be able by magic to burn buildings, make animals sick, send plagues, and the like. Because of their adeptness at begging, which they acquired while a favored race, they exerted a great influence upon the vagabondage of the fifteenth century.

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auf dem Bock ausfarn". It is apparent that he often maintained himself by begging and stealing. The woman in (37) l 69 calls him a beggar, and the priest l 90—5 accuses him of pilfering flax, eggs, lard, and cheese. In (22) the scholar by trickery gains clothes and money from the peasant woman and then takes a horse from her husband.[43]

Conrad, the Pachant[44] (40), belonged to the class of travelling scholars who had degenerated into the lowest type of vagabond. I l 219 he mentions one of his ways of making a living, "Ich hab vil Partecken ersungen".[45] He is content to sleep in a wine cask (l 229) for there he will find no rats and mice. But even here he does not escape the inevitable lice[46] l 233. He is equipped with a sack in which his beggings are kept (Parteckensack) and writing material. He has reached the lowest stage of degredation, is filthy, and faces the world with only a piece of cold meat and pot of sauer kraut to eat and three heller in money.[47]

THE ROGUE

The rogue is a popular type with Sachs, especially Eulenspiegel, whom he has taken directly from the folksbook. While Eulenspiegel delights in playing tricks on the people, he is careful not to steal outright, for fear he will get a "strich an Keln" (58) l 128.

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[43] Freytag, Vol II, p 11ff. The travelling scholars were sons of the common people, who did not have the funds to secure a higher education in the usual manner. They were allowed the use of the Latin schools under certain conditions. They were given lodging but had to beg for their board. This was regulated by certain definite restrictions.

[44] Freytag, p 13ff. There were two classes of travelling scholars, the Bacchant and the Stützen. The latter were the younger scholars and had to perform all manner of menial tasks for the Bacchant, even to stealing.

[45] Reicke, E., „Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen". Leipzig. 1901. Monographien zur deutschen Kulturgeschichte. IX. p 56. The non-paying students that went from house to house singing religious songs were called Kurrendauer or Kurrendschüler, but mostly Parteken Hengste and Parteken Fresser.

[46] Freytag, p 20; Reicke, p 58.

[47] Reicke, p 59 describes the degeneracy of the Bacchant, stating that many kept up this life until they were thirty years of age.

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More original types with Sachs are Klas Würfel (77) and Klas Schellentaus (81). The latter knows all games of cards, enumerating them as follows: l 27 ff "rümpffen, flössen, puecken, possen, in den thuern, schleck, puczen, das losen, das offen rawschen, ain dreissig, ains und hundert, carnöffeln, der leczten les, des stichs und der pild, der untrew". His motto with cards is, l 23—4:

„Wer dem Kertlein so schnewczen kon
Des Rock die schaben nit kumen on."

He is also familiar with the game of backgammon, l 59, and with dice, l 64. He admits that he cheats, and when he loses he has no scruples against robbing his master. When the latter pursues him, his ready wit comes to his aid and the noble himself is beaten for a thief. Klas Würfel, as the name suggests, makes his living by cards and dice. He comes from a family of law breakers and expects to end on the gallows, 100 ff:

„Stirb ich gleich, e ich krank pin worn
Und mit dem kopff in stegraiff dret,
Heb an zu trabn, wen der wind wet
Thu auf aim henfen ros her reitten."

Hermann Pich (53) is a rogue whose duty it is to trace out blasphemers for the Inquisitor.

Accomplished thieves and robbers are found in (25) (27) (59) (70). The cow thief (25) is not individualized and what he does is an ordinary Spitzbube trick. Sachs, while changing the material from the source (Pauli 352) to make it more dramatic has not changed the character of the thief. In (59) the horsethief takes advantage of the gross stupidity of the peasants to make a successful getaway. He later sells them articles which he had previously stolen from them. Sachs does not overlook an opportunity for belittling the peasants and shows that they are as bad scoundrels as the thief is.

In (27) one finds the robber knight. While the source of the story is Italian (Boc. X, 2), Sachs has made such free use of the material for purposes of characterization that the knight and his servants must be accepted as German. They prey upon all passing travellers and as soon as a capture is made they are prepared to torture the victim if he becomes troublesome. The leader, of course, gets the lion's share of the booty, much to the displeasure

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of his men. Bold as these desperados are they do not lose sight of their probable fate, death upon the gallows (l 28). The robbers in (70) are cold-blooded and unfeeling in their account of robbing and murdering travellers, l 119 ff,

„Den wolt wir von den mehren schlagn
Oder ein kügel durch in jagn
Und im den zum reitwetschger sehen."

They are also afraid of capture, having just escaped from a band of troopers. They see the possibility of death on the gallows (l 70) or on the wheel, l 268.

THE WITCH[48]

The witch or old hag appears in several of the Fspe: (18) (19) (39) (57) (61) (63) (76). In all instances except (63) her influence is for evil. In this play she does good by teaching a young woman how to manage her husband.

The old witch is called by various names suggestive of her character: die alt Breckin, die alt Hex, die alt Wettermacherin, die alt Hur, die alt Stüt (18); die alt zawberin, die alt unhüeld, die alt deuffelspannen (76); des Teufels Jagahund (18) I 254 des Teufels Wachtelhund (61) l 368. The matchmaking old woman is frequently designated as Perentreiber: (50) l 121; (57) l 367; (61) l 31.

In physical appearance she is, of course, hideous, (19) l 94 to 96:

„Högret und pucklet sind von leib,
Gerunzelt und ghrumpffen und ungschaffen,
Muerret und munckisch gleich den Affen."

Similarly, (63) l 110.

It was as matchmaker that the old woman gained her greatest degree of prominence. The old hag (19) l 196 would have preferred to have stayed at the Sewmarck, "kupeln, finanzen und popizen". The old woman in (57) l 21, after many reverses, is reduced to this trade. Again in (61) l 359ff, after being able to effect the ruin of a virtuous young married women, the old hag discovers

[48] For the old witch see Breitzmann, Franz, „Die böse Frau in der deut. Literatur des Mittelalters". Berlin. 1912. Palaestra 42.

Also, Bauer, Max, „Die deutsche Frau in der Vergangenheit". Berlin 1902. Chap. XI.

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that she can make more money by selling flesh and blood than by spinning. In (63) l 112—15 the old witch was formerly a procuress, but found that the black art was more profitable. The evolution of a matchmaker is described in (57) l 1—23:

„Ach, was soll ich nun fahen an?
Mein geltlich ich verzehret han
Mit schwerer Kranckheit lange jar,
Welches gelt ich einsammlen war
Mit Bulerey in meiner Jugendt,
Da mir denn hauffenweis zu trugent
Edel, unedel, layen, und pfaffen.
Nun bin ich hesslich, ungschaffen.
Zum buln mein niemand mehr begert,
Bin auch verachtet und unwert.
Und thu mich doch des Betels schemen,
Dass ich solt das Almusen nemen.
Mag auch nit spinnen an ein rocken,
Mag auch bey keinem Krancken knocken,
Auch nit den Kindern zopffen und laussen.
Sol ich mich den nehren mit mausen,
So hab ich sorg der meinen Ohrn:
Mir ist die Stadt vor versagt worn
Von wegen meiner bösen stück:
Ich denck gleich hinter mich zurück.
Wil mich nun gleich mit Kuppeln nehrn."

Aside from matchmaking the most popular profession for the old woman was the practice of the black art, (63) l 114 ff:

„Nach dem da gab ich mich allein
Auf die schwarz kunst und zawberey,
Sam künt ich wetter machen frey,
Schecz graben, faren auf der gabel,
Der gleichen ander solich fabel:
Den pauern knechtn gab ich wuntsegen,
Die gschos ich segnen kunt albegen,
Vür schiessen hencket ich nach mals
Den lanczknechten zettel an hals,
Verschlossen in aim federkiel.
Dergleichen stücklein trieb ich viel
Auch wo aim etwas wirt gestolen,
Dem sag ich war gar unferholn
Und las in sehen in die prilln
Und reis im selczam rottn und grilln,
Erforsch und frag alle umbstent,
E wan ich pring die sach zu ent,
Warsag den eim listiger weis,
Das es ist weder schwarz noch weis;
Wan ich kan kainer dieser kunst,
Mach ainem sunst ain plaben dunst.
Zu zeitten glingtz mir an gfer,
Den pringt ain narr den andern her.
Also die lewt ich eff und plent,
Mich wundert das sis nit verstent,

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Sunder mir noch mit ganczem hauffen,
Weiber und man teglich nach lauffen.
Die pey mir suchen gros erfarung.
Darmit gwin ich icz mein narung."

The mother of Dismas the murderer (70) is an old witch with ability to practice magic. He says, l 83—4:

„Weil mein mueter lebt, pin ich frey
Vor gfencknus durch ir zawbrey."

Weathermaking is another profitable accomplishment, (19) l 144; (63) l 116. As a trouble maker the old woman in (18) l 255—7 does more damage in a day than the devil has done in thirty years (cf also (30)). It is not surprising that the old woman should be more powerful than the devil as he is afraid of her. It is related in (19) l 283—4 that

„Solch alter poser weiber drey
Fingen im Feld den deuffel frey."

This notable occurrence is also mentioned in (76) l 177—9. The devil refuses to allow such creatures to go to hell with him, but in case of an emergency he is glad to make use of the old woman to destroy a happy marriage (18), or to prevent one (39). Of her he says in (18) l 281—2:

„Mir stehn gen Berg all meine Haar
Vor deim gifftigen, bösen Maul."

He is so afraid of her that he will not hand her the shoes promised as a reward but offers them at the end of a stick. In (76) the devil is a sadly abused husband and is glad to quit a bad bargain.

It is in the punishments prescribed for the old witch that one can see the contempt in which she was held. It is said of the matchmaker in (57) l 363 and (61) l 378—9 that she should be drowned. In (19) one old hag accuses her companion of having lost her ears, and receives for answer, l 222 ff:

„Ey so hastu dragen das ploch,
Da dir der leb die drumel schlueg
Und mit dir umb den marck rum zueg,
Da loffn wol hundert pueben mit."

The matchmaker (61) says that if captured she will be burned (l 374) or have to carry the stone (l 375).

In one case an old woman is despised, not because she is evil, but because she was not. The old woman whom Peter found believing in God was thought to be half-witted and was called, "ain alter stadl abrunnen", (67) l 190—3.

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